1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

6

INTERVILLAGE GAMES

777 526 THE intervillage athletic meet (*tcĭrkona*) which was one of the most important occasions of Papago life ranks fundamentally as a food ceremony. Its purpose has been much obscured by the practical features of gambling and merrymaking, but actually the luck which it brought was rain and therefore crops. The races themselves were not considered rain bringers, as they were in some of the Pueblos, but the winners brought luck, which in the Papago mind was always rain, to their own locality. And the singing which preceded the meet was a definite rain charm, paid for as such by the village whose name was mentioned in the songs.

526 The whole performance was an elaborate one in which the challengers offered to the challenged a set of rain-bringing songs, with dancing and paraphernalia which raised them almost to the rank of an operetta. For this offering they were paid in food. Then came the athletic contest, in which both contestants bet all the accumulated goods of a year. Those who had paid for the singing might easily win back their investment and leave the challengers bankrupt. Goods changed hands on such a large scale that this betting contest might almost be said to take the place of a market. It was certainly the most important occasion for economic exchange.

The chief contest was a race. It might be one of the long kickball races of the Southwest, where two or three men on each side kicked a ball over a course of ten or fifteen miles and return, or it might be a relay race where all the men on each side spelled each other over a course of a half or a quarter mile, some men running two

[p. 116]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

There were only a few such singers in the country, and the challenging village might have to send for one from some distance. He worked without pay, other than his food and the fame he received. He selected a number of boys and girls who had agile bodies and the great desideratum, long glossy hair. These he trained in the dance maneuvers, and meantime, the older men learned his songs and made the effigies under his direction. Often he required elaborate representations, which might take months to produce. Reports mention cranes made of raw cotton or smaller birds of painted wood mounted on sticks which could be waved as though the birds were flying. Sometimes there were rainbows of painted buckskin, cloud symbols of cotton, and flowers of wood or vegetable matter.

The men of the village met frequently to sing songs which would give their side good luck in running. Toward the end of the practice time they sang every night. One or more shamans sat with them to "see" whether their opponents were working any evil spells and also to work spells on their own behalf.

Ten days before the final event a bundle of sticks was sent by messenger to the opponents. On the tenth day the challengers started, men, women, and children, taking their effigies, dance costumes, and all the property they could afford to bet on the game. They planned to arrive at their opponent's village on the day before the games and to camp outside it. From this final camping place they sent into the village two messengers in war array. All accounts heard assumed the use of the horse and of the lance, and even called this formal challenge by a Hispanicized term which sounds like "harlequinade." [1]

The messengers had their faces painted black, as did warriors and the announcers for the drinking ceremony. "Black means madness or dizziness."(9) One was on horseback, carrying a lance, his other clothing being the most elaborate he had. The other, also with black face, was on foot. They presented themselves at the race track, where the man on horseback stood up in his stirrups and delivered his message. The villagers, who had gathered to receive

[1] Although the challenge was in the form of play, it seems probable that it symbolized the real hostility and fear once felt by the contesting groups. If they belonged to different dialect divisions, this might be the only occasion when they met, and they surrounded it with formalities.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

the hostesses served cooked food to all the visitors. One informant had seen a hostess arrive with a huge dish of boiled beans which she offered to the singers. She tried to feed them with her hand; they refused, and she smeared the food on their faces. After this, each householder of the challenged village advanced to one of the visitors and said: "You go to my house for your pay." At the house they were given cooked food, clothes, skins, and baskets. But it might be that the naming songs were to follow the skipping dance. In that case, payment was deferred until the whole performance was over. More often, the two entertainments were alternatives and either one or the other was given.

THE NAMING CEREMONY

The naming ceremony was, like the skipping dance, a charm performed by the visitors to secure good luck to their hosts. It consisted of a series of songs celebrating the name of every important man in the village. Mentioning of names in this manner was akin to the mentioning of animal names in songs to cure sickness. The auspicious circumstances brought good luck to the person mentioned, and, though using names was often undesirable, it was here a success charm.

This entertainment required no effigies and no new songs. Each village had a series of songs, some celebrating a shaman, some a wise man, some a warrior, and into this framework they could fit any name they pleased, by lengthening or shortening the lines. It was the custom so to fit the names of their hosts and to be paid for the compliment.[4]

When naming songs were to be sung, the visitors must hear the names to be used on the night before the ceremony, or even earlier, in order to commit them to memory. While they were camped outside the village of their hosts, in the usual way, they sent a messenger to signify their intention and to ask for the names. The host village held a meeting to select the names, since each man sung for would have to provide a substantial gift. Usually there

[4] Russell, p. 171, describes a naming ceremony for the Pima, although he says nothing about a skipping dance or a ceremony of challenge.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

he sat at the west, for his third at the north, and only for the fourth could he sit at the east. 223 783

The singers squatted in silence, until finally the guardian took the prayer stick from beside the eagle killer and, holding it in his hand, sang the first song. When he had finished, he passed the prayer stick over the body of the eagle killer, placing it first on his head and then stroking downward over his body. With each stroke, he blew outward, wishing for the eagle killer the same kind of success in life which he himself had had.

He then passed the prayer stick to the man at his right, and so it went counterclockwise around the circle, each man singing four songs and stroking the killer with the prayer stick. Some of the good luck auguries made at this time are quoted from an actual ceremony. 223 783 777

By a deer hunter.

1. Hail! Thus I do to you. Thus you will do in the future. A little way off stands a mountain. You will follow [tracks] around it; you will kill some game; you will feed yourself. Thus do I, as a good hunter, follow my game. I go forth in the morning; I kill my game; I feed myself.(16) 223 783 777 539x

By a runner.

2. Hail! Thus I do to you. You will be like me. I am so fast a runner that if anyone ever catches me I will give him all I have.(16)

By a hunter.

3. Hail! Thus I do to you. Thus you will find yourself doing. Thus I do. The flat land lies stretched out wide. I follow [tracks] across it. I walk and walk. I kill game. I eat it.(16)

When each man in the circle had sung four songs and had performed his act of purification, a cigarette was made by any man who had brought tobacco and was passed counterclockwise, each man receiving it from his neighbor with the kinship term and giving four puffs. The singing then proceeded as before. No one must sleep or go home until morning. Singers might rise and leave the circle, but the eagle killer must remain in position—upright, with legs straight before him, arms folded and head bowed. 223 783 [276] [516]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

horned creature they represent looks like no animal in particular and is said to be the devil. The rest of the costume consists of old, ragged clothing, though formerly the impersonator went naked. Youths who volunteer for this service expect to gain good fortune, like other ceremonial performers.

The devils appear on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of Holy Week. During these days everyone guards his yard enclosure with a cross, because anything not so protected may be appropriated by the devils. "This is to teach the people how to guard against bad people." The devils come around, gesturing and scaring the children and will take anything outside the yard. The remedy is to make the sign of the cross; then the devil will run away. If he has taken anything, one may chase him with a crucifix or make him an offering of a cigarette(!); then he will drop the object. The devils are particularly active on Good Friday night. On Saturday morning, everything that they have taken is piled up in front of the church. The people come to claim their property and pay a cigarette or five or ten cents. Otherwise everything is burned.

After the redemption of property, the devils are whipped with branches of *Encelia farinosa*. This, when they were naked, was a serious affair and meant really to hurt. There is a whipper for each devil, chosen by the old man in charge of the arrangements. The devils do not resist, but come docilely and kneel. Just before the whipping the people throw flowers on the devils. "These are from Santa Maria Guadalupe," they say. The reason is that "once when Guadalupe was on this earth, a man threw flowers on her, asking for rain. You can see the flowers on her robe now, although some call them stars." Throwing flowers has since been recognized as a way to ask for rain from the Christian supernaturals. After being whipped, the devils remove their masks and throw them on the fire, where the booty is being burned. They say: "Now I shall feel happy. I shall relinquish my work. I shall continue four years, then I shall finish. Whoever is a friend to me will assume this duty and will follow as I did."

After the devils have been disposed of, there is social dancing in couples, in the Mexican style. At intervals a "pascol" dancer,

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

like those seen among the Yaqui, performs his shuffling solo dance in bare feet, his calves wound with strings of cocoon rattles. Otherwise he wears his ordinary clothes. Few Papago know this dance, and the performer may be imported from the Yaqui settlement in Tucson or from Mexico.

No other Papago village performs this ceremony, which, says tradition, was brought by immigrant Papago from south of the border. However, Santa Rosa, in the north, echoes some elements of it. Here, on Saturday before Easter, the people gather at the Roman Catholic Church, but without a priest. They are laden with flowers, a custom unknown in Papago ceremony, but common in Mexico. They march to the outdoor cross, chanting and scattering the flowers. Then they meet in the church, where relatives present one another with baskets of food, particularly sweet cakes.

Another ceremony, containing more Papago elements is that given on Holy Cross Day at the little village of Santa Cruz (Papago, Mulberry Pond) in the Pisinimo group. Though Holy Cross Day is the fourth of May, one is tempted to connect this ceremony with the old cleansing dance held in November, especially elaborate at Pisinimo. The elements of the ceremony, it will be remembered, were the ritual killing of a deer and a dance around deer meat and garnered crops, after which the meat was eaten as a charm for health and luck.

At present, after mass a steer is blessed by the priest, then roped and killed in front of the church. Then the people, carrying several saints' pictures from the church, walk in procession to a stone cross a quarter of a mile away. The pilgrimage, conducted by the sacristan, with the people singing in Spanish, is in the style of the Spanish church ceremonies of two centuries ago. The progress is in seven stages, with seven halts, when the holy pictures are set down on a sheet spread by the acolytes, while all the people kneel and pray. When they reach the cross they are met by women with specially baked cakes in the shape of a cross. Everyone takes a cake and eats it for good luck, as they once ate corn and venison. Then they rise and walk back to the church, bonfires being fired on each side of the road as they pass.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

some said, look at them. Nevertheless, they brought blessing to the whole household since it was unthinkable that the owner's fate should be separated from that of his family group. 422

To some extent, this blessing was general good luck but the owner of a fetish also earned food by it. The owners of the purification and the curing fetishes were all empowered to cure certain ailments and, for this work, they received their meals. "Thus you will feed yourself" was the regular encouragement given them at the purification ceremony. But the shaman had the rank of a specialist with a highly paid craft. In fact, it was paid out of proportion to all other services so that he stood alone as the one person whose income was great enough to make him independent of the family. This independence, so contrary to the social scheme, must have contributed to the fear in which the shaman was held. 422 [277] 756 465

Songs and ritual were also individual property. The owner of a dreamed song could work magic with it and receive a meal just as he would if he helped harvest a field. But he could not sell it. Such a song, to have magic, must be dreamed by the singer and people resorted to many expedients to convince themselves that they had dreamed a song. But pay was not one of them. Ritual was not dreamed but was handed down in families, the current practitioner choosing his heir from among the eligible males. Reciters of this sort of ritual had the function of priests and were not renumerated. 424 424 428

Much Papago property was destroyed and buried at a death. The house was burned if possible, but the heavy posts being hard to obtain, the thatching was sometimes burned and the posts moved. The clothing, paints and tools of the individual were buried with him, also food and water and as much more equipment as could be spared. A man might have a buckskin and a woman a jar or two. Fetishes and shaman's equipment were not buried but kept by the family. 768 764

Arrangements have been changed in recent years since the Papago have owned more property. The house, now of wattle and daub, is never destroyed but those who keep to the old customs at all, often bury large amounts of property with the corpse, buying new saddles, clothes and canned goods for the purpose. A man's horse, which had something the status of a tool that he used, was often killed at the grave, though not now.

Cattle are considered family property and distributed to the children. They should, logically, be mens' goods, since their care belongs entirely to the men but modern life has brought no corresponding womens' goods and, in the instances known to the writer daughters have received cattle as well as sons. But customs, in this 768 428

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

464 contacts of the southern villages made for more flexibility and disorganization than there was in the north.

CEREMONIAL PAYMENTS

431 796 The Papago had one ceremony which involved large payments between villages. Ostensibly they were for ceremonial services which brought blessing and rain but they performed, as well, two very practical functions. One was that the village making the payments could invest its harvest on a much wider scale than that permitted by family gifts and the other, that gift relationships were cemented with what might be called foreigners: the members of another village and even of another dialect group. The ceremony was the dance of greeting and blessing which preceded intervillage games.

431 526 796 [533 535] [577] Games were played between two village units or groups of units, the same opponents challenging each other alternately, year after year. The time chosen was autumn, when the crops were in and when there was not only leisure but goods for gifts and gambling. The challenging village always "sang for" its opponent, either a rudimentary operetta, in which costumed dancers performed to singing, or a series of songs which glorified the important residents of the host village. Songs of both kinds brought good luck which, according to Papago ideas of reciprocity, should be paid for.

431 796 When a village had been challenged and had paid it was etiquette for it to issue the challenge next year and be paid in turn. After that, either village was at liberty to pick out a new opponent but, as a rule, they continued together over a long period and established definite gift relationships. But occasionally, a village which had had a poor harvest would strike out in a new direction and sing for somebody "rich". Russell[1] mentions the Papago (probably the northern villages) singing regularly for the Pima, and some Papagos from Somerton (Sand Papagos?) came yearly in regalia, marched and danced with rattles for the Yuma.[2] But the wealthy agriculturists were too busy with their own affairs to need this form of exchange and the visits were seldom returned.

The visiting party arrived a day early, camped outside the host village and sent in a costumed messenger with a formal challenge to games. The messenger carried a bundle of sticks, each representing a household head in the visiting party, who would expect a gift. If the household head could not come, some younger male represented him, but gifts were made only to households, not individuals.

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[1] Russell p. 171.

[2] Gifford, 1933, p. 262.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

treated like an uncle in the matter of gifts. There were no clan, moiety or kin restrictions on the guardian's appointment. Here was another expedient for establishing relationships of trust with non-relatives. 431 783 727

The sixteen days of retirement were succeeded by a public ceremony when the Enemy Slayer was purified by the singing of men who had been through the same experience. They formed a kind of unorganized priesthood and were not paid. But the Slayer's weapons and, according to some, the scalp also, were purified by a special dance, performed by people of another village. The *kapetua* (leaping dance) was a graphic representation of a man in battle, performed with the warrior's own weapons. Any agile young man familiar with war technique was eligible to do it and groups of them habitually practiced. Women might follow them, carrying weapons and imitating their movements. A victory in war was often followed by intervillage games in celebration but even if it was not the time for this, all neighboring villages were invited to the purification ceremony "because the warriors suffered for all". Among them might be several men prepared to do the leaping dance. Paying the dancers was the duty of the hero's family and particularly those who formed part of his geographic unit and would share his honors and good luck. But a scalp brought into the village gave it rain and any villager who helped in the payment for this would have specially good luck with his crops. [793] [535] [777]

One dance was performed for each Enemy Slayer, sometimes by the same performers, sometimes by different ones. After each dance the two leaders, who bore shield and club, should receive horses or cows (or a bit of manure representing them) while the others had lesser gifts. The hero's father and uncles should give the animals and any of them who could, provided the gift. "He didn't get anything back. Just good luck." 431 535 727 783

If the family could afford no animals, some one else would volunteer for the honor of the village, and probably be paid back in time by gifts from the family though the statement is that "he did not want anything. He did it for the village." It was at this time that the generous man got his reward "for if the hero's father had not been stingy, then everybody would help him make gifts "but otherwise, the provision would be meagre and the other villages would "talk about him and his son." This was disgrace. 431 727 783 [626]

The gifts collected were placed in two piles near the dance ground, one pile for men and one for women, and a man and woman of the hero's family were selected to distribute them. There follows a list from a ceremony at Kuitatk, about 1860. The hero, in this case,

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

flimsy affair and this destruction was probably an aid to sanitation. 768
But the four mesquite posts of the frame work were hard to come by so they were generally moved and a new house built around them. There are traditions of bereaved families who threw away all their property or burned it, after the Mohave fashion, but most people denied this. "We couldn't have lived. We were too poor" (11). But if there had been many deaths in succession, the family left everything but what they could carry on their backs and went to seek asylum with distant relatives. It was thought better to leave the fields to others while they were so ghost ridden.

Women, in mourning, cut their hair to the neck, men to the 301
shoulders. Hair should be buried at a distance, out of reach of 302
animals but since it was such valuable property, there were some 765
who ventured to use it for hair ropes. Used in a carrying basket, [777]●
one old woman stated, it even brought luck. Those who had not lost a spouse wailed for the ritual four days and then went about their occupations but widows and widowers must mourn longer. A widow, in the very ancient times, wore nothing but a breechclout and went unpainted for a year, after which she might marry again. A widower went unpainted and his period of mourning was thought by most to be a year but one man said he could marry after four days. "A woman could work and take care of herself for a year, but a man needed some one to work for him" (1).

If the husband had died, the wife might marry one of his younger 768
siblings but otherwise she went back to her family group. Very young children who needed her care, she would take with her, but older ones would be left to be brought up in her husband's group, probably by his mother. An elderly widow often remained in the adopted group, with her sons to support her. But there is one example of such a woman who returned, with all her grown sons, because her home field was better (I. 1. A 3). At the end of the mourning period, if she were of marriageable age, her family found her another husband. Children of her first husband were likely to be sent back to his family group, but if that was inconvenient, they stayed with her parents. She rarely took them into the new home.

If the wife died, the children remained in the husband's group, cared for by his mother or one of his brothers' wives. If he had been satisfactory, he might be given one of the wife's classificatory younger sisters. Otherwise he took a new wife and the children of the former one remained with his mother.

The souls of the dead went to the east, escorted by their ancestors, 775
who came for the dying man in the shape of owls. This was true whether they had died of illness or of enemy wounds. The soul

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

never tasted anything like it. Wheat flour makes me sick! I think it has no strength. But when I am weak, when I am tired, my grandchildren make me gruel out of the wild seeds. That is *food*.

I used to help my mother. When I was very little I began to grind the seeds, just for a short time. When I was ten years old I did it all, for then a daughter should be able to take over the work and let her mother sit down to baskets. But I am telling you about the early days when I could only grind a little. Then we pulled the grinding slab inside the house by the fire and my mother knelt behind it. I picked the dirt out of the seeds and handed them to her, and the pot boiled on the hearth on the three stones that we kept there.

My father was very busy, for he was the chief of our village. People used to bring their quarrels to him, and I remember him sitting crosslegged under the arbor we had to keep off the sun, listening with his head bent and his arms folded, while people talked.

"My daughter disappeared with a man on the last night of the maiden's dance. I want her beaten." "How many stripes?" "Twenty." "Fifteen," said my father. He was a gay man who liked to war and to gamble. He did not like to beat women.

Some days nobody would come, and then he would gamble with the other men, throwing the sticks that we use for dice, and then moving stones around a circle as many moves as there were marks on the stick. We used to hear the men singing in a low tone, before they threw, to give them luck:

Down I shall throw
The smooth stone I shall move
Move it to the corner.

They smoked, too, and I can smell their tobacco yet, the strong wild tobacco that we do not have any more. It was tied in a long corn husk, so white, so nice, and when one man passed it to another he said: "Friend!" And the other said, "Friend."

When the sun was high, high, my brothers and my sister came home, and as each one came my mother gave them food. She dipped the gruel out of the pot into a bowl, for my mother was a good potter. We all had bowls in our house. Only my father and my mother ate out of the same one laughing together, because they liked each other. When my mother dipped out our food she said: "Do not eat it hot. You will have wrinkles." She set mine on the grinding slab to cool. "It will make you industrious," my mother said. My father said to the boys: "Do not eat it hot, no matter

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

handful of pinole, whereupon the salt is spread out to dry. The party next moves down to the sea; going into it up to their knees, each man carries corn-meal in his left hand and, watching for the waves, throws one pinch of it, caught with all fingers, on each of four successive waves. He bends forward when a high one comes lest it might throw him on his back, which is a bad thing as it would make him ill. They do not indulge in any sea bathing, for the ocean is too clean to allow them to soil it, they reverently say.

Toward sunset the salt is gathered in sacks, about one hundred pounds in each, two of these making a load. Great care is taken that no salt be spilled on the road as this would bring about some misfortune. Every one takes back with him a piece of silicious sponge which is found on the beach and which is kept carefully from year to year. This is considered a good remedy for external use. But the leader may take a bite of it, chew it, fill his mouth with water, and spray this through his lips on the men. Members of a salt expedition learn new songs on the trip and they say they dream them while asleep. Among the gifts of the sea may be a beautiful wife, luck in hunting, or swiftness in foot-races. After their return they must stay away from their houses from ten to sixteen days. A good deal of their time is spent in singing to the accompaniment of rasping sticks, and after having taken a bath every fourth day the man is able to join his wife again. According to accounts of fifty years ago* the Papagoes supplied Tucson

*See California Notes, Fourth Series, in *California Farmer*, 1863.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

553 tages which the child gains are supposed to be health,
261 strength, and luck; untoward happenings are also pre-
vented even to the family itself. If the birth occurred
[777] in the season of thunder-storms, the danger to the child,
or a near relative, of being killed by lightning will be
553 averted. For four days after the ceremony the parents
abstain from eating salt and jack-rabbit meat, and they
must not do much work; the father cannot hunt.

837 The natural characteristic of the Papago is to be vir-
684 tuous. According to Indian reports, a woman caught in
adultery used to be punished with death. In recent times
whipping has been the penalty and the custom of killing
184 her animals still prevails. The tribe has been notably
stable in racial qualities during centuries of contact with
whites. Intermixture to-day rarely takes place except
in Sonora, where the Mexicans have taught the Indians
new customs. In the out-of-the-way places of southern
Arizona a few Americans are known to have Papago
wives; they have children and to all appearances are
known to lead happy lives, for the lady of the house is in-
telligent, quite good-looking, clean, and very industrious.
During my stay at Sonoita several couples came to be
married by the civil authority there.

682 Murder was left to the family of the murdered person
to punish. From an American who speaks their lan-
838 guage and lives in the central part of the Papagueria, I
received what I must accept as reliable information with
regard to unnatural vice, which perhaps may be more or
less restricted to that locality. Several startling instances
were told me by him and also by a trustworthy Indian